

**A SUMMARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BYZANTINE INSTITUTE  
IN THE KARIYE CAMII: 1957 and 1958**

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EXCAVATIONS have been undertaken in the Kariye Camii, the church of St. Saviour in the Chora, during two seasons, each of approximately two months, in 1957 and 1958. In 1957 the work was carried out by Professors George H. Forsyth, Jr., of the University of Michigan, and Paul A. Underwood, Field Director of the Byzantine Institute, and in 1958 by Mr. and Mrs. David Oates of Trinity College, Cambridge, England. In presenting this summary of our investigations the author acts as spokesman for all who have been concerned in these investigations.<sup>1</sup> Our object was to recover any evidence that might be available as to the layout of the church and its furnishings at various epochs in its history before its conversion to a mosque in the early sixteenth century, thus complementing the artistic and architectural study of the building which has been in progress for some years. A full record of our results will be embodied in a later publication which will include also a historical and architectural study of the building. In view of the time that must elapse before the more complete report can be published, it seems desirable to present a brief statement of the conclusions we have reached, particularly those which conflict with the previously accepted account of the history of the church. We shall not attempt here to describe fully the evidence on which these conclusions are based, although we shall try to distinguish clearly between fact and interpretation, and to acknowledge uncertainty where it exists.

The scope of the work was limited by two considerations, the safety of the structure and the preservation of its surviving ornament, in particular the intact *opus sectile* floor of the

<sup>1</sup> In preparing this report the author has had access to all notes, photographs, and drawings pertaining to the excavations of 1957 and to the excavations themselves. He has been further helped in developing his conclusions by numerous discussions on the site with Professor Underwood and Mr. Ernest Hawkins, F. S. A.

nave, which precluded any investigation in the main body of the church. The presence of marble revetments and mosaics likewise prevented us from examining certain parts of the standing masonry where we should expect to find evidence of different phases of construction; enough masonry, however, was exposed through the removal of plaster and in the course of repairs to the marble revetments to give us a clear picture of the general sequence, although certain points of detail must remain in doubt. Another difficulty, common to most excavations on continuously occupied city sites where the occupation level has not risen appreciably, was the lack of deposits of material definitely associated with the successive building phases, which might afford an independent dating criterion. In the absence of such deposits, chronology must depend on the identification of distinctive construction materials and methods which are found in datable contexts elsewhere. This is often difficult in early Byzantine buildings, especially where only a fragment of masonry is preserved, because of the variety and inconsistency of the masonry techniques employed at that time, and the lack of documentation for much of the comparative material. We were fortunate, however, in that each of the two periods which saw the greatest building activity in the Kariye Camii, under the Comnene and Palaeologan dynasties, is marked by the use of a highly individual masonry technique.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the masonry in use in Constantinople and elsewhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see the article of C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), pp. 249ff. and figs. 5-9. In brickwork of this period alternate courses are recessed up to 3 cm. from the line of the face (10 courses, ca. 70 cm. high) and subsequently concealed by flush pointing, presenting the appearance of a very wide joint which is marked by parallel incised lines; sometimes, but not invariably, the vertical joints are marked in the same way. The mortar and the pointing are

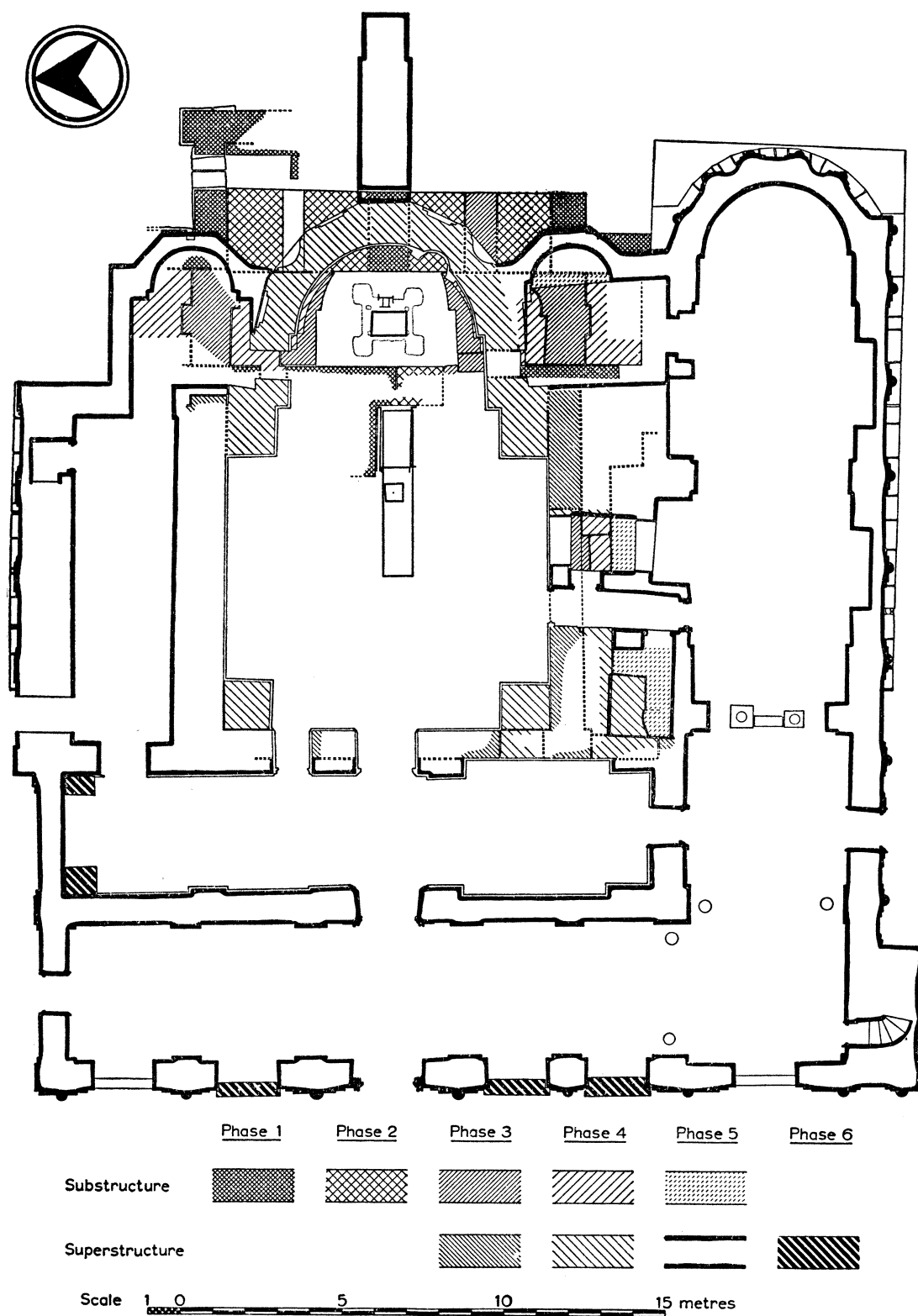


Fig. 1. Kariye Camii. Plan of Successive Structures

The church stands on the steep cityward slope of the ridge that carries the Theodosian wall. The ground falls away sharply on the east and southeast, so that the east end of the existing building, and of its predecessors on the site, had to be founded on elaborate substructures forming an artificial terrace on this side. Such terracing is a common feature of important buildings in the city, and was often improvised by Byzantine architects from the remains of earlier masonry which had served the same purpose; they had little regard for the appearance of work which was not intended for the public eye, and apparently relied on an empirical estimate of its load-bearing capacity. The success or failure of this improvisation, and particularly its ability to withstand the earthquake shocks which were a recurrent hazard, in great measure dictated the history of the building, and must be taken into account in the interpretation of the evidence we uncovered.

Two principal areas were investigated (text figure 1): the apsidal complex and the substructures supporting it at the east end of the church, which we exposed both outside and inside the building where the Byzantine floor had already been destroyed, and the area between the nave and the parecclesion adjoining it along the south side, which had been extensively damaged by alterations after the Turkish conquest and could, in consequence, be freely explored. We found evidence, either here or elsewhere in the building, of six successive phases of Byzantine construction, of which the sixth and latest included only minor additions to the church

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usually a dirty white, but may, when damp, take on a buff or salmon pink tinge. Palaeologan masonry commonly consists of bands of four courses of brickwork (*ca.* 38 cm. high) alternating with three, or, in the Kariye Camii, more usually four, courses of rather roughly dressed limestone blocks (4 courses, *ca.* 70 cm. high). The pointing on the brickwork is bevelled to a slight underlap on the upper brick, and almost flush with the stone courses; both pointing and mortar are deep pink. This distinctive color was also observed in concrete packing used in the foundations of the Palaeologan parecclesion, and in the hard mortar bed on which the *opus sectile* floor of the nave rests. A similar bed, from which the marbles had been removed, was found *in situ* in the diaconicon, where it was associated with the Palaeologan reconstruction.

in the late Palaeologan period. Only the first five phases, each of which represents either a new building or a substantial remodelling of the old, are briefly described here.

*Phase 1* was represented only by substructures whose main surviving element was a great arcaded wall, almost 3.00 m. thick, that ran north and south beneath the apses of the church. The eastern face of this wall has always stood partially exposed above grade level in the eastern façade of the church. What now remains is a pair of open brick arches (with spans of about 4.35 m. which were later filled) that rest on three composite brick and limestone piers. Originally these arches were extended to north and south by other arches blocked on their western sides by recessed walls of the same masonry as the piers. The preserved parts of the blockings of these arches can be seen on the plan (text figure 1) beneath the small apses of the prothesis and diaconicon. The two open arches were screened to the east, at a distance of about 1.40 m., by a much less massive wall incorporating smaller composite piers which responded to the three surviving piers of the arcade. About 3.00 m. to the west, and on the same north-south alignment, was a second wall pierced by two arched openings of different widths, which bear no recognizable relation to the symmetrical pattern of the arcade. One of these can be seen in the plan beneath the existing door that leads from the bema of the main apse into the prothesis to the north. The evidence is not sufficient to permit any identification of the building to which these structures belonged, and the question is too complex to be discussed here. The presence of at least two vaulted tomb chambers, one of which was inserted between the arcade and the eastern screen wall before the next phase of building took place, and the other, of identical building materials, to the west beneath the nave of the church, strongly suggests that the Phase 1 building lay within the precincts of the monastery. Whatever its function may have been, it is at least clear that the plan of the Phase 1 building does not correspond in any way to the layout of a church, and certainly not to the east end of one. The masonry is reminiscent of fifth- and sixth-century work, and both the arcade and the wall parallel to it on the west produced exam-

ples of a highly distinctive, slightly convex pointing on the brickwork. We have so far found pointing of this type in only two other places in the city: on a brick wall in the excavated buildings on the south side of the atrium of the church of St. Irene, and on a pier at the southwest corner of the nave of the same church, where its context points to a sixth-century date.

*Phase 2* can again be recognized only in the foundations at the east end of the church. The *Phase 1* structures had suffered considerable damage, for the crown of the southernmost of the two open arches of the arcade had fallen. Both of these arches were now blocked throughout their thickness with masonry fills leaving only two small arched openings on the axes of the original arches. The two open arches of the great arcade now became, in effect, a massive terrace wall which was later used to support the eastern extremities of each of the subsequent buildings on the site. The two small openings, which occur at a considerably higher level than the bottoms of the original arches, seem to have been provided as a means of access to the interior of the arcaded building whose interior level now seems to have risen. At the same time the *Phase 1* wall to the west, which ran parallel to the arcade, was also reinforced by the insertion of a block of masonry to narrow the span of the larger, or southernmost of its two arched openings, but access to the spaces to the west, beneath what is now the nave of the church, remained. It was probably in *Phase 2* that a long vaulted tomb chamber, a little over 5.00 m. in length, was constructed below the floor of this space, slightly to the south of what became the longitudinal axis of the later churches. Half way down its length the tomb chamber was provided with an entrance shaft through the vault which was covered by a large block of stone, the upper surface of which was approximately level with the floor of this period. We have again no positive evidence of the form of the superstructure of this period, but the evidence suggests that the spaces here referred to comprised a substructure, or crypt, which appears to have been used for burials; nor do we know when the reconstruction was carried out. It is historically possible, however, that this phase corresponds to the period of

restoration of the monastery in the ninth century.

In *Phase 3* the superstructure of the earlier building was completely dismantled, although its substructures were to some extent re-used. New foundations for an apsidal complex, obviously the eastern end of a church, were constructed in the space between the inner, or western face of the original arcading, now used as a terrace wall, and the other *Phase 1* wall to the west. This construction now blocked the passages which in *Phase 2* had given access to the substructures and presumably to the long vaulted tomb chamber below. It may have been at this time that a second closed burial chamber was built overlying the east end of the first.

Nothing now remains of the superstructure of *Phase 3* in the eastern area, but it was found that the substructures here outline a central apse flanked by two small apses. Their total width corresponds with the length of the terrace wall (which included the two arches and the three piers of *Phase 1*) against which they rested at the east end. Three features, however, indicate that the new building was originally wider than this and had narrow passages, or lateral narthexes, along its north and south sides. Near their eastern ends, beneath the prothesis and the diaconicon, there were projections on the external sides of the north and south foundation walls which appear to have served as foundations for the jambs of arches. Their presence implies that other walls, with corresponding jambs, once existed still further to the north and south, thus increasing the width of the church. At their eastern ends these outermost walls, including their foundations, were completely removed, but a fragment of the west end of the southern wall still stands, incorporated in later masonry, in the southwest corner of the small interior chamber to the west of the narrow passage that now connects the nave with the parecclesion. In the very corner of this room the section of this hacked wall stands to cornice height. Its inner face establishes the width of the lost side narthex and, one can presume, that of its counterpart on the north side of the church. This fragmentary wall of *Phase 3* is definitely the earliest one of three phases of masonry found in the walls of this small chamber. The technique of its

brickwork, and that of the foundations at the east end beneath the diaconicon, is typical of eleventh-and-twelfth-century masonry, that is, it consists of alternate recessed courses of brick covered by flush pointing which gives the appearance of unusually wide mortar joints.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the carved ornament on the cornice of this fragmentary wall is virtually identical with that employed in the nave and apse of the Phase 4 church which we know to be a construction of the Comnenian period.

Our investigations in the area between the nave and the parecclesion of the present church shed other light on the layout of the Phase 3 building. It became clear that large parts of the lower walls of the present nave were originally built at this time and were used in the subsequent rebuilding. Finally, at the south end of the wall dividing the nave from the inner narthex we identified, in a lost area of the Deesis mosaic, one jamb of the original south door, blocked in the alterations of the succeeding period. There is no evidence of the form of the narthex at this time, nor of its successor in Phase 4. The eastern wall of the present inner narthex is basically of Phase 3 refaced in Phase 5 except for the section on which the Deesis mosaic now exists; its other walls are entirely the work of Phase 5. The form of support for the dome of the nave of Phase 3 must remain somewhat conjectural in view of the impossibility of excavating in the nave. The diverse indications described above suggest, however, that it was a four-column church with lateral narthexes to north and south. The layout is reminiscent of the north church of St. Saviour Pantocrator, and a parallel for the side narthexes can be found in Texier's plan of Kilise Camii.<sup>4</sup> The masonry technique is that which was in use in Constantinople, and in areas under its influence, throughout the greater part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Plan reproduced in A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), fig. 82. The existing northern façade of the tenth-century church of the monastery of Constantine Lips in Istanbul presents evidence of a lost structure along that side. Similar evidence of side structures occur on the south side of Kocamustafa Camii and at the Kalender Camii.

Since, as will be seen below, the subsequent building was also constructed in this technique, the Phase 3 structure should most probably be ascribed to the eleventh century.

Phase 4 represents a complete rebuilding of the east end of the church, though retaining much of the superstructure of the Phase 3 nave. The main apse and bema and the two small side apses of Phase 3 were dismantled to their foundations, and the whole area, with the exception of the central apse, was filled with mortared rubble. On this was founded the new, larger apse and bema which still stand, with doors in the bema leading north and south into side-chambers on the sites of the present prothesis and diaconicon; we have no evidence for the exact layout of these chambers in Phase 4. At the same time, the Phase 3 supports for the dome (columns?) were suppressed and massive piers inserted in the corners of the nave to carry shallower arches on which a much larger dome was supported. The square western piers blocked the two small side doors (which doubtless led from the narthex into the "side aisles" of Phase 3), and the north door may accordingly have been moved southwards to its present position at this time although this might have been done in Phase 5. There is no sign that a new south door was provided, and this irregularity may be explained by assuming that the present asymmetrical plan of the narthex dates essentially from Phase 4, although the masonry indicates a complete rebuilding in Phase 5. Such an assumption is supported by the fact that a Phase 4 parecclesion was attached to the south side of the nave, access to which would have required the remodelling of the south end of the Phase 3 narthex or an extension of it toward the south. The evidence for the addition of a structure on the south side of the nave is contained in the area between the nave and the existing Phase 5 parecclesion. Here we found that the western entrance to the southern lateral narthex of Phase 3 had been blocked in Phase 4, and an archway, 3.40 m. wide, was inserted in the south wall of the nave which was now approximately doubled in thickness. The arch, later blocked in Phase 5, is concealed behind the marble revetments of the nave, but its south side is still visible in the narrow east-west "gallery" which runs at a high level

behind the north wall of the present parecclesion.<sup>5</sup> When we exposed the foundations of Phase 4 masonry associated with the western side of this arch, we found the northwest pier of the structure to which it gave access. The stub of this pier, bonded with the Phase 4 wall, was found beneath the floor in the northwest corner of the small interior chamber that lies to the west of the existing passage connecting the nave and parecclesion. The explanation of this feature is that it was one of four square corner piers carrying the arches which supported a dome, thus repeating on a smaller scale the layout then newly adopted in the nave of the church. Although all further trace of this domed parecclesion has been obliterated by radical rebuilding in Phase 5, it is worth observing that the present structure also incorporates a dome at this point, and may in other respects reflect something of the earlier plan, although it is almost certainly on a larger scale. The masonry of Phase 4 is again of the type used in eleventh- and twelfth-century construction, and is virtually indistinguishable from that of Phase 3; failure to differentiate between these two phases, which is indeed impossible on superficial evidence alone, has hitherto proved the principal bar to a satisfactory explanation of the complexities of the building. We are forced to conclude that radical alterations were undertaken quite soon after the erection of the original church, and a possible explanation for this is suggested below (*Conclusions*, p. 230).

Some information was also recovered in the excavation of the apse which throws light on the decoration and furnishing of the church in Phase 4. The masonry footings on which the marble revetments now rest were very likely inserted at this time, and in the builders' debris associated with them we found fragments of skirting, and of bullnose and bead and reel mouldings identical with the panel frames on the walls of the nave and apse. It is obvious, however, that parts of the existing revetments, for instance those on the south wall of the nave, must be later in date, and it is possible that the whole decoration was repaired or renewed in Phase 5. We also found the mortar bed in which the footing of

the iconostasis had been set, with a section of the marble stylobate still in situ; and in the middle of the apse, the foundations of the four columns of the ciborium, set at the corners of a large rectangular loculus constructed of marble slabs, which lay directly beneath the altar. Immediately against the east side of this loculus was a second, much smaller marble box which housed a reliquary in the form of a lead casket containing a few fragments of wood and bone. The large loculus, having been robbed in Turkish times, now contained a miscellaneous collection of rubbish including some human skeletal remains. The dating of the two loculi depends on the interpretation of the disturbed stratigraphy of the surrounding area, and in the absence of any datable objects the evidence is somewhat equivocal. In our view it is probable that at least the large loculus and the ciborium date from Phase 4, but there is a possibility that they were inserted in Phase 5. Discussion of this and similar points of detail must await the publication of the final report.

*Phase 5* requires comparatively little description here, since it is well documented and embodies what is virtually the final, visible form of the church. The nave and apse were retained, but a new dome was built over the nave. The prothesis and diaconicon were rebuilt and a wide north passage added, with a closed gallery above; we do not know what the previous layout of the building had been on this side, although there was probably some similar means of access to the Phase 4 prothesis. The inner and outer narthexes in their present form date from this time. The Phase 4 parecclesion was destroyed to make way for a new and probably larger chapel, founded on two parallel vaulted chambers, cutting through and obliterating much of the earlier foundations on the south side. The large arched opening in the south wall of the nave was blocked and replaced by a narrow passage leading to the parecclesion, while the remaining space under the arch became a small room, perhaps a mortuary chapel, opening off the east side of the passage. A similar small room of unknown function was formed on the west side of the passage by cutting back the Phase 4 foundations; for some unexplainable reason its floor level was considerably higher than that of the rest of the church. The doorway

<sup>5</sup> See plans and sections on pp. 318 and 320, Van Millingen, *op. cit.*

leading from the main apse into the diaconicon was also blocked, apparently at a later stage than the reconstruction of the diaconicon itself, and this room subsequently served as the prothesis for the parecclesion. The sills of the triple windows in the south and west tympana of the nave were raised somewhat and the corresponding window in the north tympanum was blocked throughout the greater part of its height because of the addition of the gallery over the north passage. It is certain, from contemporary records, that the whole of this work was carried out under the patronage of Theodore Metochites in the second decade of the fourteenth century.

#### *Summary of Conclusions*

The foregoing account summarizes the more important facts which have emerged from the excavation and structural examination of the Kariye Camii. We have identified five principal phases of building on the site. Phases 1 and 2 are represented only by substructures, too fragmentary to suggest any identification of the buildings they supported; but we can say with certainty that in neither case does the plan reflect the distinctive layout of the east end of a church, although the site probably lay within the precincts of the Chora monastery. Phase 1 is tentatively dated to the sixth century on the basis of the masonry, but we have as yet no evidence to date Phase 2, although the period of the restoration of the monastery under Michael Syncellus in the ninth century is a historical possibility.<sup>6</sup> In Phase 3 what appears to have been a four-column church, with lateral narthexes, was erected on the ruins of the earlier buildings, using the massive blocked arcade as its principal foundation at the east end. This was clearly the first church on the site, and can be dated not earlier than the eleventh century on the evidence of its characteristic masonry. Phase 4 represents the complete reconstruction of the east end of this church, substituting the present wide apse for the earlier small apse and side chambers opening into the nave; the building of a

new prothesis and diaconicon; the replacement of the smaller dome, probably on four columns, by the present system of corner piers carrying a large dome; and the suppression of the south narthex to make way for a parecclesion, with the concomitant alterations in the narthex. The masonry of this phase is hardly distinguishable from that of Phase 3, and the interval between the erection of the church and its extensive rebuilding must be comparatively short, since the type of masonry used in both was in vogue only during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In Phase 5, the restoration after the expulsion of the Latin conquerors, the nave and apse of Phase 4 were retained, although their decoration was in large part, if not entirely, renewed; the prothesis and diaconicon, the north passage, the inner and outer narthexes, and the parecclesion were all rebuilt in their present form.

One most important conclusion emerges from this evidence: St. Saviour in the Chora was not one of the earlier churches of the monastery, but one that was built for the first time not earlier than the eleventh century on a site which, although probably used since the sixth century for monastic buildings of some importance, had not previously been occupied by a church. The commonly held view that the form of the Phase 4 church was dictated by that of a seventh-century church which had presumably been built on the site is, therefore, unfounded. The original form of the Phase 4 church was long ago conjecturally reconstructed by Schmit and Van Millingen<sup>7</sup> along lines that resemble such seventh-century churches as those of St. Sophia at Salonika and the Koimesis Church at Nicaea. In this type of church, the dome rests on four piers built into the corners of the nave, the main apse fills the eastern side of the nave, and arches in the north and south sides of the nave give access to side aisles which lead to apsidal chambers at the east. These points of similarity have been regarded as evidence

<sup>6</sup> For a short discussion of the history of the Chora monastery, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, pt. I, vol. III, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), pp. 548-551.

<sup>7</sup> For Schmit's plan, see his *Kakhrie-dzhami*, I (Sofia, 1906) = *Izvestiya Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, XI, pl. I facing p. 102, and his comparison of the Kariye Camii with other churches of the type on pl. III facing p. 112. For Van Millingen's plan, *op. cit.*, fig. 102, p. 314.

that Priscus, one of Heraclius' generals, had indeed constructed a church at the Chora whose plan survived through later reconstructions. The investigations show that those similarities are purely fortuitous and result from the decision to construct a larger dome and a single apse within the limits established by the surviving lateral walls of the Phase 3 structure and not through re-use of structural remains of a church of that type.

It remains to consider why the Phase 3 church was rebuilt so soon after its original foundation, and how the material evidence can be reconciled with tradition, particularly that which ascribes the building of a new church to Maria, wife of Andronicus Ducas and mother-in-law of Alexius I. We have already observed that on a site of this nature the history of the building depends on the capacity of its terraced foundations to withstand not only their normal load, but the effects of subsidence and the additional hazard of earthquake tremors. The principal weakness of the structure of the Kariye Camii has clearly been the line of junction between its eastern parts, which depend for support ultimately on the blocked arcade of Phase 1, and the remainder of the building which is founded on the second wall of Phase 1, three meters to the west, and on the comparatively firm ground behind it. This line of cleavage is marked by a crack running north and south through the whole of the superstructure arising from a great fissure below ground which follows the east face of the western wall of Phase 1. This has obviously been opened by a slight downhill movement of the blocked arcade and of the fill, of mortared rubble and debris, which it was intended to retain. The fissure has extended through the fourteenth-century Parecclesion, including its substructures, and hence must have become enlarged after the period of its construction; but this movement was already recognized as a structural problem by the Palaeologan builders, as is shown by the great buttress which they erected against the east face of the arcade and the apse, and which has itself now slipped out of contact with the masonry of the arcade. It seems likely, then, that the same weakness led to the collapse of the east end of the Phase 3 church where it had to be completely rebuilt from its very foundations, although

much of the fabric of the nave to the west of the line of cleavage was left standing.

In the historical sources there is no documentation regarding the destruction of the church of the Chora at any time during the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and for this period construction of only one of the two churches is mentioned. Nicephoras Gregoras, who should have been in a position to know the traditions of the monastery, merely states that its church was originally built by Justinian in an elongated form; that later, since this church had been destroyed to its very foundations, another was built in the form in which it existed in his day, by the mother-in-law of Alexius Comnenus, that is, by Maria Ducaena. He adds that this church was rebuilt by Theodore Metochites.<sup>8</sup> The construction of Maria's church cannot be dated precisely, but we may suggest the period between 1077, when her daughter Irene became the consort of Alexius I, and about 1081 when the body of the Patriarch Cosmas was buried in the Chora, a fact that would presuppose the existence of a church suitable for such an important personage.

The only other recorded facts concerning the patronage of the church during the Comnenian period relate to the interest which Maria's grandson, the Sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus, third son of Alexius I, took in the church. Isaac was a notable patron both of religion and the arts, and was closely connected with the Chora; he built his tomb in the church when he was a young man, although in his late years he ordered it to be removed to his new church in the monastery of the Kosmosotira in Macedonia, to which he had retired. In the *typicon* of his new monastery he speaks of certain agreements with the monastery of Chora which gave him the right to remove not only his tomb but also other unspecified marbles and to use them in the decoration of his new church.<sup>9</sup> Such privileges imply what amounts to proprietary rights with regard to the monastery, and this in turn suggests the possibility that he occupied the position of *ktetor* of the Chora. Long after

<sup>8</sup> Nicephoras Gregoras, IX, 13 (Bonn ed., I, p. 459).

<sup>9</sup> L. Petit, "Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *Izv. Russk. Arkheol. Inst. v Konst.*, XIII (Sofia, 1908), p. 63.



his death he was commemorated in the great fourteenth-century mosaic of the Deesis in the inner narthex of the Chora, an honor that cannot be explained merely by his unfulfilled intention to be buried there. With the exception of the fourteenth-century *ktetor*, Theodore Metochites, Isaac is the only known benefactor to be commemorated in the mosaics of the Kariye Camii. If he rebuilt the

church that his grandmother had founded, and if he is responsible for the nave and the apse in their present form, then indeed he deserves his memorial. It must be emphasized, however, that on points such as this we can do no more than suggest a plausible explanation that would reconcile the scanty historical evidence with the structural remains of the two churches of Phases 3 and 4.